534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. Inferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

[439]

763 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living
776 in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

789 [262] [273] [783]

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

[787]

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

[776]

844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

Ro-nag-pa is a person who has become impure through the touching of a corpse. 783● 844

will get the Lha (gods) and the Lu (water gods, snake gods) angry at us, and then they will cause our water to fail and the seed on the field to dry up!" Soon there are three, four, and more neighbors on the spot and they all talk excitedly to Lobsang Wanggyal. The latter insists on his good right. Today, he says, after eight days of drought, it is his turn for watering his ground. His brother, he goes on, who does not live in his house, has watered the fields down in the valley; he just wanted to water the clover field and the garden up here still; he had also been very careful not to jump over the ditch, which especially enrages the water nymphs. His drinking water, he says, his niece gets for him at the well. She lived, after all, in the neighboring house and had therefore not become impure, like he, by the birth in his house. His mother placed two earthen jars before the door every morning, which the niece would put back in the same place filled, so that she never had to set foot inside the house. Soon he would also throw a lu-stor, an offering of pills made of bread dough, in the lake and in the well for the water nymphs, in order to appease the Lu and to become absolved. He knew, too, what was fitting and proper for a pious Buddhist. Nobody could accuse him of not honoring and fearing the old gods of the land. But all his talking is of no avail. The old trouble-maker Yontan from the Break-all house will not let him go; he points to the ditch and says that one could see quite clearly that the ditch was already conducting much less water than it usually did in the late evening after a warm day and a great deal of melting of the snow in the mountains. That was, of course, Lobsang Wanggyal's 692 fault; he was going to bring action against him with the district's official. The p'a-spun (3) have to intervene because the men look

3. By p'a-spun, literally translated as "father-brothers," 608 that is to say, brothers who have a common father, the Tibetan means a closed fraternity within the village community, which is not necessarily constituted of blood relatives, but who all worship a common god (Tibetan: p'a-lha, that is, Father-God). At all important events within the family and tribe, such as birth, marriage, and death, the p'a-spun gather for joint action and mutual assistance; they are obligated to help each other in every way possible. Their relations and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [783] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

751 The
[326] goldsmith in Leh, who also produced many temple implements aside from the women's ornaments that he made, had sold him the silver one for two rupees; the consecration by the lama, who inserted a magical piece of paper by which the amulet obtained its magical power, cost another 12 anna (equals Reichsmark 1.00).

753 Despite all these protective measures, in spite of all pious
• 783 exercises and arts of exorcism performed by the priests, little Drogpa Namgyal became seriously sick when he was about two years old, around the time of the ripening of the apricots. He suffered from a
[757] very bad stomach and intestinal disease which could not be alleviated by any of the remedies applied to it, such as the eating of flour porridge, medicines, and the like. How was this possible after all the protective measures which had been taken up? There must be some special reason for this. /28/ Grandmother Tsering Putrid turned to investigating. She wanted by all means to find out what it was. After two days she came back filled with anger from the neighbor women with whom she had had a long, excited conversation. Now she had discovered the cause. The niece Yangdsom, who often had to take care of the little boy and who then carried him around tied to her back by a wide shawl, had gone out of curiosity into the house of Dragtschanpa. The latter's wife had recently died, and the niece had gone into see what the lamas, who had gone in with books, censers and musical instruments, were doing there. In so doing she had, of course, become impure, together with the unsuspecting child on her back, and the house god was angered about this. The stupid girl! For this stupidity she should have her ears boxed a couple of times once she had been purified again by an offering. And what was to happen to the sick darling? The lama
755 Mipam who was much in demand as a healer, was called into the
783 house. The lama sat down by the side of the mother who had the child in her lap and was crouching on a carpet; he took a book and began to read prayers to the medicine Buddha Manla (Tibetan: sMan-bla, in Sanskrit: Bhaishajyaguru), the great healer of all sicknesses. Then he produced a small brass mirror which had a loop at its edge through which was tied a strip of white silk. This mirror the lama held before the child's face in such manner that its reflection was visible in the mirror. Then he sprinkled consecrated water from a small metal jug several times over the image in the mirror at the same time constantly mumbling prayers and formulas to himself. By this process, as the holy man explained, the child was purified of all stains.

Then the lama took a slip of paper on which he had written a

powerful formula of exorcism against the angered household deity. 755
Now he held the mirror in such a way towards the magical writing on 783
the piece of paper that its mirrored image became visible, and then he again poured hallowed water over the mirror so that the power of the formula might be transferred to the water. The mother had to catch the water that flowed down in a bowl. Of this water saturated with magical powers, a few spoonfuls were forced into the violently resisting child who spat them out again with all signs of disgust. /29/ The mother looked anxiously at the lama. Could the magic, then, work in this way? But the lama consoled her and said: "The power of this magical water is so great that the few drops which the child has swallowed will still have their effect." Furthermore the mother now had to finish the rest of the "wonder drink"; since she was the one who nursed the child, it would in this way benefit from the full power of the drink. So said the lama and assured her that by this double "baptism" (Tibetan: ak'rus, pronounced trus) the child was purified and the P'alha exorcized. He would not bother the child any more for the time being. True, it was a full fourteen days before the child gradually started recovering. But to most in the house it was certain that the recovery had been the effect of the "baptism" of the lama.

Little Drogpa Namgyal grew up to be a robust boy and soon 000
there was, in the circle of his playmates, no stronger, more skillful or livelier boy than he. As a son of the respected Dragshos and because of his superiority in all their boys' games he was well liked and respected by his companions. They even endured his occasionally domineering behavior, mostly without contradiction, because on the other hand he showed himself as a good friend who was always ready to help.

/30/ EDUCATION FOR A HIGHLAND FARMER AND HERDER

Drogpa Namgyal Becomes Acquainted
with All Kinds of Animals and with Sinister Powers.

When he was only three to four years of age Drogpa Namgyal 868
already accompanied his father and his mother to the fields and there began, without his being conscious of it, the school in which the person takes in a mass of observations, discoveries, impressions and opinions even without the compulsory attendance or discipline of a formal school, and without a book or writing implement. These

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile o horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of /41/ it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usuall; he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
[782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle.. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
771 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger,he is terrible.
● 783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again."

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth, prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death.

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle)./ /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

friends have all heard the news of the death of a person, they go into the house in which the death has taken place, in order to console (the relatives). This is called the Great Meeting (k'ab-ap'rad). As soon as one /214/ of the visitors enters the house, the women of the circle of relatives and of the tribe immediately start up a wailing of lamentation and amidst crying tell of the passing away. The visitors appear before each of the mourners and say: "Don't cry! Don't cry! Do not grieve!" They stay for a little while and then go home. Only the p'as-pun stay in the house and pray continually the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum while they turn the prayer wheel.

764

Rules Concerning Becoming Ritually Impure

When a woman's husband dies, the wife has to carry his corpse, and in this way becomes (ritually) impure (yug-sa); if the woman dies then her husband has to carry her corpse and becomes impure. The person who has become impure drapes a blackish blanket of goat's hair around himself in a dark corner, takes all his ornaments off, and puts on old clothes. The vessels, such as the kettle, the flour bowl, and so forth, of the person who has become impure (yug-sa-pa) are kept separate from those of the other inhabitants of the house. Since the surviving husband or wife is regarded as impure (6), the person concerned may not touch the hearth or the implements, in particular the eating and cooking implements in the living room; ordinarily this person may not leave the house either. If he leaves the house anyway, he may not cross over any irrigation ditches. If it is summertime, he may not go into the fields. Today there is still the chopped off and dried out hand of a woman to be seen in the monastery Gang-ngon (sgaṅ-ñon) (7). This woman committed nine offenses of this kind (and was punished for them in this fashion).

764 783

[688]

6. As "impure one" the person would otherwise offend and anger the earth, water, and household deities, and these would send sickness, drought, and crop failure upon the offenders.

7. The monastery is at a distance of about fifteen kilometers from Leh.

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (g-sdug-bsaṅs) (8).

8. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ĉos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

as soon as the (above-named) exorcisms have been completed. 764

Poor people only have such exercises performed for one day. 789 Rich people, on the other hand, have them performed up to two weeks (and longer).

The "Burning of the Paper" (The Paper Mask)

Four days after the death, on the first day of the second segment of time (consisting each of four days), the "burning of the paper," the byaṅ-ĉog, takes place. In the monastery, they (the monks) each have a carved printing plate with the picture of a man or a woman. Now since Tsering (the deceased) was a man, the picture of a man is printed on paper and his name--Tsering--is written on it. Then the (printed) paper is placed between the feathers of an arrow and a greeting ribbon (k'atag) is wound around the end of the (folded)together) paper. Now barley is poured into a measure (bre) (46) and placed before the

46. One bre (dry measure) contains two ample liters.

abbott (present). The arrow is stuck into the barley. Then the bdag-skyed and the other exercises are performed, as indicated above, and texts and formulas are recited. In order to annul the sins of the deceased, because of his trespasses, scattered offerings (bgegs-gtor) are presented to the demons /227/. Through the recital of magical texts the sins are also annulled. Furthermore, the purification from sins is brought about by the reading of the "Six Books of the Transcendent Wisdom (śes-rab-kyi p'a-rol-tu p'yin-pa; Sanskrit, prajnya paramita)"; further, the exculpation from sin is effected by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood); finally, also, sins are done away with through the "Four Elements" (47). 764 783

47. The four elements are: earth, water, fire, and air. Sometimes ether is added as the fifth element.

When according to the instructions of the books (concerned), these exercises are completed, the corpse-bearer takes the arrow in place of the dead body, and sticks it in his sash (which he wears slung around his body), and sits down behind the seat of the deceased (which was his during his lifetime in the circle of his household companions). 764

The Burial By Fire

764 First a "magical square" (t'ab-t'ig, literally, "oven picture") must be created and must be spread out in the cremating furnace of the fathers. A dorje (thunderbolt) is to be drawn into the fourth center field of a (probably squared?) piece of linen cloth. Eight fields are to be left open on the four sides of this, and inside these fields lotus flowers are to be drawn; further--fire-spewing mountains are to be drawn on all four sides around these flowers on an edge four fingers wide; then again on an edge four fingers wide a frame consisting entirely of dorjes is to be drawn. A half moon and a dorje are to be drawn in each of the four corners of the cloth. The p'as-pun spread this picture out on the floor of the cremating furnace.

On the day on which the corpse is carried out, one man from each house, in a small village, goes to meet the others in one place; in larger localities like Leh, the neighbors along the street come together, and according to the custom of the so-called "intimate meeting" each brings a jug of beer and a dish of flour with him. The closer relatives each come with a large loaf of bread, as well as with money (literally, "copper coins") for each of those who take part and the "wailers," and all gather in the house of mourning. On the day on which the corpse is carried out of the house, the neighbors along the street, the friends, and companions receive a donation of rice, tea, and beer, which is called the "friends' tribute."

/229/ When the lamas have finished the so-called "Great Litany," the corpse is carried out of the house at the time that has been designated by the soothsayer. In Upper and Lower Ladakh the women of the circle of relatives (of the dead person) circle three times around the corpse, as soon as the corpse-bearer has come out of the household temple with the corpse (and has set it down) (50).

50. The corpse remains tied in a squatting position the whole time.

In Central Ladakh (the region around Leh), however, the women do not do this. In Leh, the corpse-bearer first of all carries the corpse outside the household temple in front of the house door. Then the [783] corpse is placed in a sedan-chair (with carrying rods) and is carried in this by the p'as-pun, neighbors, and others (51) to the cremating

51. These others take upon themselves the odium of becoming impure in exchange for payment.

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--Feeding of the Manes

•783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lha-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place,

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were following the small Yunan River down to Kilung. A Tibetan who was bringing a caravan to Patseo twirled it as he followed rangy mules loaded with wool and marmot skins. And as he twirled it, he kept murmuring to himself, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

In the main monastery at Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are perhaps eight by eighteen inches and filled with prayers. They too are engraved with *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* One spins them clockwise as he goes up or down the stairs, waiting, in case another has preceded him, until the earlier spin has ended. And as each spins, he murmurs, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Some prayer cylinders are spun by the wind. There is a large one at Hemis, about three feet long and eighteen inches wide, hitched up to paddles and turned by water. It too is filled with prayers that are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year. And the prayers say millions upon millions of times, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are practically no doctors in Ladakh. Although each monastery will have a lama trained in native medicine who will take care of the illnesses of the monks, there is no medical service for the people. A villager who is sick sends for a lama. A child or the wife makes the journey to the nearest monastery (perhaps thirty or forty miles) and brings back a lama. The family gives the lama his board and lodging and pays him as much per day as it can afford. A man with a special attachment to the lama may turn his wife over to him for the duration of the visit. For these considerations the lama prays. He sits by the bed of the sick person for hours, for days on end, driving away the evil spirits that have caused the illness. And as he sits, he chants endlessly, incessantly, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

Buddha did not believe in mortification of the body as a means of salvation. But that belief is a religious longing deeply rooted

in Asia, rooted so deeply that it cannot be dislodged. Lamaism believes in it. A lama may walk years on his knees to atone for his sins. In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet, he may do a prostration pilgrimage. He lies flat on the ground, both hands extended. He marks the point, stands up, steps forward to the mark, stretches flat again, and repeats this exercise again and again. It is common to find people doing a prostration pilgrimage around monasteries or holy places. A prostration pilgrimage of thirty or fifty miles is not unusual. It may last for weeks. One may do it for his own salvation—to get merit by sacrifice—or he may be hired to do it for another person or for the soul of a friend or relative.

One day I saw a lama coming up the Hemis nulla in a prostration pilgrimage. He was barefooted, with pads upon his knees. His robe was pulled up and fastened high. His hair was close-cropped, and he was filthy with dirt. Down he went on his stomach, then up on his knees and to his feet; then down again. And with each prostration he said twenty times, "*Om Mani Padme Hoom.*"

The lamas gather in the chapel three times daily for prayers. I did not attend any of these services at Hemis, but students of the subject say that the ritual is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Catholic Church. There is, however, usually the music of trumpets, drums, and cymbals. There is always the burning of incense. And as the lamas kneel in the pews, the hum of "*Om Mani Padme Hoom*" fills the place.

These monasteries observe monthly festivals and four annual festivals, from each of which they get revenue. The people bring gifts of grain, or goats, or cash. The lamas sell amulets, talismans, idols, and sacred paintings. They sell paper strips and pieces of cloth filled with symbolic figures.

The most notable of these festivals is Losar, the New Year's Feast, observed in February. It celebrates Buddha's victories over the heresies—the triumph of the true religion over infidelity. People come from far and wide to the monasteries and celebrate

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

old lady who has had her cataract removed. She is lying on the floor by the side of a nice spring bedstead, on which she had been placed yesterday after her operation. In reply to our query why she did not stay quietly on her bed, she says she felt so giddy sleeping so high up in the world, and more safe on the floor. True, she cannot fall out of bed now. In Ward 3 is a Yarkandi whose leg we have had to amputate to save his life. He has come that difficult journey from Yarkand, over the Karakorum range of the Himalayas and the Dipsang plateau, and been overtaken by frost-bite. Very likely at the end of the hard day's march over the snow he was so exhausted that he fell asleep without troubling to take off his heavy boots, and the circulation had no chance to re-establish itself in the severe cold. In the next ward we find that a string has been stretched across from one wall to the other, over which strips of meat have been hung, and we are told that the family are drying their next winter's supply. One can just imagine the happy expression on the face of an English Surgeon, who on entering his ward found such activities being pursued. In the next ward we can see nothing, for it is filled with acrid smoke which so hurts our eyes that we beat a rapid retreat. Dinner is being cooked! But we must not linger longer with our in-patients, for we would like to take the reader with us on a medical tour.

When we visited Kyelang, it will be remembered that we made a detour to a place called Lingshed. Messengers came to beg us to go to this village in 1916, because it was so central, and they promised that blind folk from the whole surrounding district would gather there; the further inducement was held out that throughout the trip the question of supplies would be made easy for us. So one evening we found ourselves in our tents in Lingshed with about thirty blind folk sitting round. We examined their eyes, deciding that some were operable, others not. The latter were informed as kindly as possible that no operation on earth could

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

cure them of their blindness, but our solicitude seemed unnecessary, for they remained quite cheerful, merely saying "*Lanchaks*,"—that is "we are atoning for our sins in a former incarnation." No doubt those successfully operated upon are getting the reward for former good deeds, and for the successful operation it is quite unnecessary to thank the Surgeon when virtue is being rewarded. The next question is, where are we to operate? Under the open sky the sun is too grilling and brilliant, and the tent is too small. We have detected a verandah which would make a most suitable temporary operating-theatre, in fact it is practically the only available spot, but, on suggesting this, are informed that this is a temple verandah and belongs to a very great and holy man. "There you cannot operate" we are told emphatically, and reply that the reason adduced makes the place more desirable than ever, and we must operate there or nowhere. This point is gained, or partly so. We might operate on the men there, but not the women, for they must not enter such a holy place. Alas! the Doctor Sahib must have had a strange upbringing, for he informs these Lingshed men that in the peculiar country whence he comes, the dictum is "Ladies first," and only when these are done can the Lords of Creation be tackled. That settles this point, but not even yet are all our difficulties overcome, for a very old lama finds his way to the Doctor, who having examined him, finds the eyes quite operable. He is, however, begged not to give the old fellow his sight, for he is so poor that he has not sufficient food to sustain him while the wounds heal, nor a helper to care for him during his time in bed. The former objection is easily overcome for we begin to charge in kind for the medicines we dispense, and soon the old fellow finds himself quite well off in flour, rice, and dried apricots, and a nurse is also provided for him. Preliminary arrangements having been completed, we make our way one fine morning to our temporary operating-theatre in the verandah of the temple. An old bedstead which cannot boast a spring-mattress, having only a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1924-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the two horns which grew from his head were an outward and visible sign. It was to accommodate these he had to have this hat designed.

The procession has now passed through the bazar, and we follow it out to the desert. There the fires have been lit, illuminating the weird devil-dancing lamas as they gyrate and jump round them. At a given moment all the *storma* are thrown into the flames, and with their burning the sin and disease of the town are consumed. Soon after our first arrival in Leh, we witnessed these ceremonies, and, wishing in our ignorance to investigate the effigies, some were bought for a few *pice* (coppers) and brought to our houses. That year a serious epidemic of throat disease broke out in the country, carrying off old and young. What else could be expected when the scapegoats had been brought back into the town instead of being thrown away? Now the erection of twigs is knocked over, and every man makes a mad rush to obtain even a small piece if he can, which is carried home in triumph and placed on one of the outer walls of the house, thus protecting its inmates from disease and death, or, if it is put into their store-room, much blessing will accrue to their grain.

A little later a similar ceremony is performed for the special benefit of the Maharajah. Holy books having been read for seven days, a scapegoat, consisting of an effigy the size of a man, is prepared. Placed in the region of its heart is a bottle of red fluid, and it is then set up in the wilderness. A company of sepoys in smart khaki uniforms marches out behind lamas dressed in fantastic clothes and devil-masks, the combination quite belying Kipling's statement that "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." They take careful aim, even lying down to do so, but in spite of many rounds being fired, the effigy is never hit, and eventually cruder methods have to be adopted for its destruction. This cannot be wondered at, for is not the effigy bewitched?

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

advantage of the illiteracy of the debtors by manipulating his bills, adding compound interest and in other ways cheating the unfortunate debtor. It is true that the law provides redress or an equitable rate of repayment of loans, but it is scarcely ever invoked by the people, for the grain stockists have so great a stranglehold on the people and are so efficiently organized that there is no recourse for them but to keep on as good terms as possible with their creditors. The only antidote to this form of tyranny would, it seems, be to start co-operative enterprise in the way of a grain bank organized by the peasants themselves, but, alas! they have not attained to that state of society in which this is possible. In short, the exactions and unscrupulous devices practised on the people by grain usurers and petty revenue officials in this country could be tolerated only by those strongly imbued with a fatalistic view of life. This has its basis in the belief, common amongst these Buddhist peasants, that all the ills and abuses in life which they suffer are retribution for evil deeds committed in former existences.

The farm work in the country is done chiefly by the women, who, besides carrying out their functions in their domestic sphere, look after the fields whilst their menfolk go out on trading expeditions, many only returning when the harvest is gathered.

Yet the great paradox in this country is that with all the privations they suffer, the low standard of living to which they have grown accustomed, and the lack of healthy development of social and intellectual activity, they are the cheeriest and most contented people it would be possible to meet. Their wants are few and their ambitions greatly restricted, and so long as they have clothes to wear, which they make from the wool of their sheep, and food to eat they remain cheerful, hospitable, and carefree. It seems unlikely that there will occur any such thing as agrarian agitation for better conditions of life for many centuries to come, for the customs of centuries and the usages practised from time immemorial have become so ingrained in the general make-up of the people that a new idea or a new way of life is repugnant to them.

Yet when all has been said about the living conditions of these farmers of Ladakh one cannot help liking them for their simplicity, their natural kindness, and their cheerfulness. The longer you live amongst them the more you are attracted to them.

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Tibet.

THE SCAPE-GOAT IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the N. India.*

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96 The releasing of a scape-goat is thought by the peasants of Western Tibet to be an effective means of obtaining absolution from the moral impurities in the individual or the community.

Noxious diseases, failure of the crops, or some catastrophic event which have thrown the community into confusion, are the chief reasons assigned for employing the scape-goat as a vehicle for carrying off the moral rubbish and transferring it elsewhere.

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A learned lama informed me that in Central Tibet it is customary for the ecclesiastics to set free a scape-man triennially. The purpose of this practice is to absolve themselves, and incidentally the community as a whole, of an evil influence which is supposed to militate against the well-being of the country and its people. The scape-man thus chosen is usually a destitute or criminally-disposed person for whom the community has no use. The ceremony of *Tsay-tar* (saving one's life) is then performed, when the scape-man is lavishly fed, adorned with ornaments, supplied with money and provided with a pony and comforts for the journey and released. He must wander for the rest of his life in foreign countries, with no expectation of ever visiting his native land. It is said that the scape-man rarely lives long, for he

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either dies prematurely through disease, or meets a tragic end through his own or someone else's fault.

When releasing a scape-goat (or sometimes a scape-sheep) the following is the ritual at the ceremony of *Tsay-tar*. The diseased or noxious person brings a goat led by a black rope before the community. A man then, stepping up to the animal, simulates cutting its throat with his hunting knife. In the meanwhile the owner of the goat pleads loud and long that the animal be spared, promising to pay compensation in money or kind provided that no blood is shed. The goat is now regarded as a fitting substitute for the penalty which should otherwise be paid for the sins of the individual or community, since it must undergo banishment from the flock. When the amount of money to be exacted from the owner of the goat is decided, the black rope is substituted for a white one, and this is tied round the neck of the animal. It is then gaily adorned, well fed, and driven to the hills to wander hither and thither until the cause of its banishment is removed. During the period of exile, no one may place a load on the scape-goat, nor even so much as touch it. If the animal should die before the moral impurity of the community is purged, another scape-goat is chosen, though the ceremony of *Tsay-tar* is not repeated.

There seems to be no regularity in Western

17: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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Tibet as regards the performance of this ceremony of releasing a scape-goat, for this is contingent on the moral condition of the community. The imposition of this form of

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absolution for the sins of the people rests in the hands of the lamas (priests), whose function it is to decide whether or not such ceremony should be performed.

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796 On the 10th day of the 7th month the festival of *Shrub*
252 *Hla* (god of the ears of corn) is held. This ceremony institutes the reaping of the harvest. No one may put his hand to a sickle until this function is celebrated. Barley and wheat are boiled until the grain is soft, when it is spread out to dry. It is then roasted, milled into flour, and finally kneaded into dough balls. The first ears of corn and the first fruits of the pea and buckwheat crop are next mixed into the dough balls, each family taking this to its family cremating[6] oven. Sheaves of grain are then fixed to the beams of the household temple, and also on cairns (*Hla-Tl*) in the neighbourhood.

796 On the completion of a feast in celebration of the in-
● 783 gathering of the crops, three men proceed to the nearest brook, taking a live sheep with them. There they have to bathe their bodies, and also dip the sheep in the water by way of purifying themselves and the animal. It is believed that once the sheep has been thus cleansed, it does not attempt to wander or escape. Leading the sheep, the trio makes for the local cairn (*Hla-To*) to which sheaves of corn, coloured rags, willow branches, and the tail of a yak are attached. Lots are now drawn amongst the three men to ascertain who must carry out the ceremony of sacrificing the sheep to the god.

796 The man thus chosen then proceeds to make a large incision in the breast of the sheep and tearing out its heart

[6] *Cremating Oven*

764 This oven is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Its dimensions are: 3 feet square and 4 feet high. On each of the sides is a small aperture about a foot from the bottom of the oven as vent holes. The corpse's back is broken immediately after death and the knees are drawn up to the head and tied securely. It is then carried on a man's back to the oven in which it is placed resting on stones placed at the base of it to serve as a grid. The more opulent prepare a box in which they place the corpse.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 614 583 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [789] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of